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THE INFLUENCE OF MACHIAVELLI ON SPENSER

I

The influence on Machiavelli upon the Elizabethans was twofold. On the one hand, he stood for resolution, promptness, severity, as necessary elements in government; on the other for treachery, deceit, self-interest. Tamburlaine is the dramatization of one of these phases; Barabas of the other.[1] *Il Principe* was the handbook of Cromwell, of Burghley, and perhaps of the great queen herself;[2] it was to others, or under other circumstances, a book "penned by the finger of Satan." This duality is perhaps involved in the book itself. The first fourteen chapters constitute a treatise on government, dealing with many of the problems which the England of Elizabeth was facing; the remaining chapters, including the notorious eighteenth, deal more particularly with the private character of the prince, and, perhaps through the distorted interpretation given by Gentillet, seemed a code for the trickster and the villain.[3] To put it in another way, Machiavelli's insistence that the prince must be a combination of the lion and the fox is at the very base of the Elizabethan conception of his philosophy, except that as a rule they separated the two. In Spenser, both these phases are reflected: the lion in his *View of the Present State of Ireland*, and the fox in his *Mother Hubberd's Tale*.

That Spenser knew Machiavelli's writings scarcely needs demonstration. The little group of friends who discussed theories of poetry also read eagerly the writings of the Italian student of statecraft. So early as 1573 Harvey asked a friend to send him

[1] For exhaustive studies of Machiavelli's relation to the Elizabethan drama, see E. Meyer, *Litterarhistorische Forschungen*, I, pp. 1 ff., and Courthope, *History of English Poetry*, II, chap. xii, and IV, chaps. iii, vi.

[2] Cf. W. A. Phillips, *Nineteenth Century*, December, 1896.

[3] One of William Harrison's friends wrote, "Faith and truth is to be kept where no loss or hindrance of a future purpose is sustained by holding of the same, and forgiveness only to be showed when full revenge is made." (Cited by W. Raleigh, introduction to Hoby's *Courtier*, p. l.) And in Meres' famous *Sketch* (1598) we read: "As the Lord de la Noue in the sixth Discourse of his *Politic and Military Discourses*, censureth the books of *Amadis de Gaul;* which, he saith, are no less hurtful to youth than the works of Machiavelli to age," etc. (Arber, *Eng. Garner*, II, 106).

a copy of "Machiavell, the greate founder and master of pollicies;"[1] and a little later, having secured the book, he breaks forth into verse.

> Machiavell, Aretine, and whom you will,
> That ar any waye renown'd for extraordinary skill,
> I reade and reade till I flinge them away,
> And then goodnight Studye, tomorrowe is hallidaye.[2]

In 1574 Sidney refers to *Il Principe* in a letter to Languet, and in Languet's reply Machiavelli is called Sidney's friend.[3] Four years later Harvey writes a Latin poem attributing various crimes to Machiavelli, and in 1579 asserts that the works of the Italian are surpassingly popular:

> I warrant you sum good fellowes amongst us begin nowe to be pretely well acquainted with a certayne parlous booke callid, as I remember me, Il Principe di Nicolo Machiavelli, and I can peradventire name you an crewe or tooe that ar as cunninge in his Discorsi sopra la prima Deca di Livio, in his Historia Fiorentina, and in his Dialogues della Arte della Guerra tooe, as University men were wont to be in their parva Logicalia and Magna Moralia and Physicalia of both sortes.[4]

Harvey also mentions "Machiavel" in one of his letters to Spenser, published in 1580, and there are other evidences of the Italian's popularity with the young English students.[5] There is reason to believe that not only were the originals familiar to Harvey and his friends but also the garbled and partisan interpretation written by Gentillet and translated into English by Patericke in 1579. And apparently it was this conception of Machiavellism as consisting mainly of trickery and foxcraft that appears in *Mother Hubberd's Tale*, published in 1591, but composed, at least in part, some years earlier.

II

In another place I have sought to show that *Mother Hubberd's Tale* derives mainly from the famous mediaeval cycle of *Renard the Fox*.[6] The introduction suggests the *Decamerone* or the *Canterbury Tales;* but the rogues' progress and the incidents of the tale, with the peculiar conclusion in which the fox escapes the

[1] *Letter Book*, ed. Scott, p. 174.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 135.
[3] Cited by Meyer, p. 19.
[4] *Letter Book*, p. 79.
[5] Cf. Meyer, pp. 22–24.
[6] *Modern Philology*, January, 1905.

punishment he deserves, even the element of "Renardie" as a necessary qualification of him who wishes to thrive at court, as well as the satire of priests and courtiers, all these make clear Spenser's debt to one of the greatest of mediaeval story-cycles. But, as was pointed out in my former discussion, Spenser in *Mother Hubberd's Tale* was indebted to the Renard cycle only for the main outline of his plot. Possibly when he first wrote the tale, in the "raw conceipt" of his youth, his chief aim was to tell a story somewhat in the manner of Chaucer and based on the great beast epic. As it was published in 1591, however, the *Tale* shows some elements drawn from other sources and it is with this phase of Spenser's work that we are now concerned.

The first section of the poem, consisting of about five hundred lines, follows the Renard material, modified by the influence of Chaucer, pretty closely. This embraces incidents (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), (*d*);[1] even the first courtier passage (502–14) is thoroughly characteristic. The description of the hypocritical priest (379–95), as well as the "ghostly sermon" (415–79) which he delivers to the two rogues, suggests Chaucer.[2] But that part of the poem which deals with the experiences of the two rogues at court, while following the Renard material in the main, presents some peculiar problems. The material may be divided into four parts: the experience as courtier (642–942); the usurpation of the throne (943–1224); the intervention of Jove (1225–1332); and the conclusion (1333–88). Of these, only the first two sections relate to the present inquiry, for the third is based on classical material;[3]

[1] Cf. *Modern Philology*, January, 1905, pp. 421, 422.

[2] Cf. ll. 382 ff. with Chaucer's description of the Monk (*Prologue*, ll. 165 ff.); the "sermon" itself is strongly reminiscent of the *Pardoner's Prologue* and of the passage in the *Tale* in which that gentleman enlarges upon his view of life and his duty. Note also that the description of the Mule (589–94) is quite in the manner of Chaucer's portrait of the Monk. And cf. ll. 866–68:

> "Now like a Lawyer, when he land would lett,
> Or sell fee-simples in his Masters name,
> Which he had never, nor ought like the same."

with *Prologue* (319): "Al was fee-simple to him in effect."

[3] Ll. 1225–30 and ll. 1246, 1247 are based on *Aeneid*, i, 222–26 and 247; and the whole passage is closely parallel to *F. Q.*, VII, vi, 14–18. Cf. especially ll. 1292–94 with stanza 18. This intervention of Jove and the use of Mercury as a means for carrying out his special providences are also found in Bruno's *Spaccio de la Bestia Trionfante.* (For possible indebtedness of the Mutability cantos to Bruno, cf. Oliver Elton, *Quarterly Review*, October, 1902, and *Modern Studies*, 1907, chap. i.)

and the fourth is composed, as I have already shown,[1] of purely conventional Renardic material.

As to the first two sections, dealing with court and courtiers, one notes that the narrative portions, and not a little of the satire, follow in all essentials the general source of the poem. But there are also evidences of other influences at work. For one thing, the Lion of ll. 621–30 is not the Lion of ll. 952 ff. Confusion resulting from Spenser's reworking of the poem is plainly evident in ll. 627, 628, for the "she" refers to the Queen. Again, though it is not uncommon in the later French versions of the Renard romances for the animals to be displaced in all but name by chivalric heroes, i. e., the treatment is purely anthropomorphic, yet it is puzzling to find that a long passage in Spenser's poem (ll. 655–942) has absolutely no suggestion of the animals. Except for the occasional use of the names "Ape" and "Fox" one would never imagine, if this were the only portion of the poem preserved to us, that it was a part of an animal tale. The persons, the allusions, the customs are those of the court, and the court was Elizabeth's near the end of the sixteenth century. There are such conventional Elizabethan themes as the praise of the perfect courtier, to be found wherever Castiglione was known and imitated; the intensely personal passage about suitors' delays; and the characterization of the crafty courtier whose only care is how to advance himself. Lastly, though the animals all come trooping back in the second section, where the plotters usurp the Lion's throne, thus introducing an entirely different court, there seems to be a difference in much of the characterization of Reynold and the Ape; Reynold has practically become a new Prince in a conquered principality; together with the Ape, who is a mere figure-head, he represents the union of lion and fox which Machiavelli constantly stresses.[2]

[1] *Modern Philology*, II, 430, 431.

[2] It seems to me probable that the entire section (642–942) dealing with the first court was written at a later date than the remainder of the poem. This is not because it is better, but because it is so entirely different, in its lack of the animal element and its use of Renaissance material, from the passage dealing with the usurpation. The animals disappear with the Mule, and do not return until the rogues begin their plot against the Lion. Ostensibly it is the same court in both passages; in reality there are two different courts, peopled by entirely different courtiers. The first court passage, which is of the Renaissance and not of mediaeval times, is opened with the speech of the Mule, which shows, as has already been pointed out, signs of confusion caused by reworking. It is probable that Spenser either inserted the long passage which follows, or practically reworked what he had originally

Greene's *The Scottish Hystorie of James the Fourth* is an admirable illustration of the way in which the conventional conception of Machiavellism was applied to the drama, and it contains some useful parallels to *Mother Hubberd's Tale.*[1] Professor Gayley dates the play *ca.* 1590; thus it is practically contemporary with Spenser's poem. There is a passage in dispraise of court which is very similar to that in *Mother Hubberd's Tale.*[2] The king is called a "lion,"[3] and Ateukin the "fox."[4] Thus the two illustrate in precisely the same manner as in *Mother Hubberd's Tale* Machiavelli's oft-repeated formula, lion plus fox. Ateukin uses methods of attracting attention in accordance with Machiavelli's advice;[5] and his methods are similar to those used by Reynold.[6] Greene's model is revealed by the fact that Ateukin is making "annotations upon Matchavell" which he carries about with him.[7] Ateukin's theory that

> 'Tis pollicie, my liege, in everie state
> To cut off members that disturbe the head,[8]

written. Moreover, it is worthy of note that it is this passage which gave offense to Burghley, and probably caused the poem to be suppressed or "called in." There is one interesting bit of evidence that Spenser got into hot water because of his satire that I believe has not been noted. In Thomas Scot's *Philomythie*, a curious satirical poem in which "outlandish birds, beasts, and fishes are taught to speake true English plainly," first edition published 1616, we read:

> "If Spenser were now living to report
> His Mother Hubbert's Tale, there would be sport
> To see him in a blanket tost, and mounted
> Up to the stars, and yet no starre accounted."

[1] It may be mentioned, in passing, that there are interesting parallels between this play and *Twelfth Night.* Examples are Dorothea's words when told she must disguise herself as a man, and her fear of a sword (III, iii, 99-114); her mood, closely parallel to Viola's, here and in IV, iv, 1-15; the situation (V, i) in which she is placed by finding that Lady Anderson loves her; etc. The characterization of Dorothea is very similar, in many respects, to that of Viola.

[2] Induction, ll. 40-52, ed. Manly. This is a very frequently used *motif* in Elizabethan literature. From Wyatt's time on, there are scores of passages which complain bitterly "what hell it is in suing long to bide." One of the most interesting parallels to *Mother Hubberd's Tale* is supplied by Braithwaite's *Strappado for the Divell* (pub. 1615):

> "The Ornaments which he admires are these,
> To faune, to observe times, to court, to please,
> To make strange faces, sleeke his prefum'd skin,
> Starch his Mouchatoes, and forget his sinne,
> To dance, to dice, to congie, to salute,
> To stamp, to stalke, to finger well a lute,
> To tremble at a Cannon when it shootes,
> To like, dislike, and fill his head with doubts,
> To be in passion, wind his carelesse armes,
> To flie his Mistresse with delightful charmes,
> To be for all, yet ignorant in all
> To be disguised, and strange fantasticall."
> —Ed. Ebsworth, Boston, 1878, pp. 124 ff.

[3] I, i, 253 (ed. Manly).
[4] II, i, 72; V, vi, 142.
[5] *Il Principe*, cap. xxi.
[6] *Mother Hubberd's Tale*, 669-88.
[7] III, ii, 56.
[8] IV, v, 45, 46.

is not only good Machiavellism but it is also the method followed by Reynold in making his false Prince secure.[1] This "fox Ateukin," careful student of "Matchavell," typifies the distorted view which the Elizabethans gained from Gentillet. The influence of this species of Machiavellism on the drama has often been pointed out; we may now note the same influence at work in a part of *Mother Hubberd's Tale.*

The principal elements in Gentillet's charge against Machiavelli are his so-called blasphemous attacks on religion; his unscrupulous cruelty and perjury; his apology for hypocrisy; in short, his use of "policy" and self-seeking rather than sincerity and humanity. All these traits are characteristic of Reynold in the two incidents dealing with court and government.

1. The Mule says they must see to it

> That men may think of you in generall,
> That to be in you which is not at all;
> For not by that which is, the world now deemeth,
> (As it was wont) but by that same that seemeth.[2]

2. There is mockery of religion:

> He would his impudent lewde speach
> Against Gods holie Ministers oft reach,
> And mocke Divines and their profession,
> What else then did he by progression,
> But mocke high God himselfe, whom they professe?
> But what car'd he for God, or godliness?[3]

3. He cares only for himself, and stops at no means to gain his ends.

> All his care was himselfe how to advaunce,
> And to uphold his courtly countenaunce,

[1] Ll. 1175 ff. It is an interesting coincidence, also, that Ateukin, like Reynold, escapes without punishment after his schemes have fallen in ruins about his ears. Thus he is the true fox of the Renard cycle.

[2] Ll. 647–50. Cf. Gentillet, *Max.* C. 22 (these maxims are taken from Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–14): "La foy, clemence, liberalité sont vertus fort dommageables à un Prince; mais il est bon qu'il en ait le semblant tant seulement." Also, cf. *Il Principe*, cap. xviii: "Ma è necessario questa natura saperla ben colorire, ed essere gran simulatore e dissimulatore: e sono tanto semplici gli uomini, e tanto obbediscono alle necessità presenti, che colui che inganna, troverà sempre chi si lascerà ingannare. . . . . A un Principe, adunque, non è necessario avere tutte le soprascritte qualità; ma è ben necessario parer d'averle."

[3] Ll. 839–44. Cf. Gentillet, B: "Maximes de la seconde partie, traitant de la Religion que doit avoir un Prince." These maxims, with the comments thereon, charge Machiavelli with being an impudent blasphemer.

By all the cunning meanes he could devise;
Were it by honest wayes, or otherwise,
He made small choyce. . . . .
No statute so established might bee,
Nor ordinaunce so needfull, but that hee
Would violate, though not with violence. . . . .
"I for my selfe must care before else anie."[1]

4. The Ape, who is a mere figure-head, is joined with the Fox, thus illustrating Machiavelli's theory that the Prince must be a combination of lion and fox.[2]

5. Reynold establishes a strong guard;[3] increases his own treasure;[4] and ruins the country, reducing all the nobles to abject poverty or driving them into exile.[5]

III

In the *Veue of the Present State of Ireland* the influence of Machiavelli is unmistakable. Here, however, it is the master of statecraft that appeals to Spenser rather than the apostle of individualism. Though the tract was not published until 1633, Spenser endorsed it "*finys* 1596," and it was entered for publication in April, 1598. MS copies of it were circulated, and in 1598 a brief of the main arguments was sent to the queen under the caption, "Certaine points to be considered of in the recovery of the Realme of Ireland."[6] It may also be noted that the defense of Lord Gray's course in Ireland, which forms the chief part of the fifth

[1] Ll. 845–49; 1161–63; 1196. Cf. Gentillet, C. 18: "Le Prince ne doit craindre de se perjurer, tromper et dissimuler; car le trompeur trouve tousiours qui se laisse tromper;" C. 21: "Le Prince prudent ne doit observer la foy, quand l'observation luy en est dommageable, et que les occasions qui la luy ont fait promettre sont passees," etc. Also, *Il Principe*, cap. xv: "Onde è necessario ad un Principe, volendosi mantenere, imparare a potere esser non buono ed usarlo e non usarlo secondo la necessità;" and cap. xviii, especially where Machiavelli enlarges on the necessity of foxcraft.

[2] Gentillet, C. 12: "Le Prince doit ensuyure la nature du Lyon, et du Renard: non de l'un sans l'autre." Also, *Il Principe*, cap. xviii: "Essendo, adunque, un Principe necessitato saper bene usare la bestia, debbe di quelle pigliare la volpe e il leone;" and xix: ". . . . io voglio mostrar brevemente quanto egli seppe ben usare la persona della volpe e del leone; le quali nature dico, come di sopra, esser necessarie ad imitare a un Principe." The same comparison is often repeated in Machiavelli's writings.

[3] Ll. 1115 ff. [4] Ll. 1137 ff.

[5] Ll. 1175 ff. Cf. Gentillet, C. 4: "Le Prince en pays nouvellement conquis doit abbatre tous ceux qui souffrent grand' perte au changement, et du tout exterminer le sang et la race de ceux qui auparavant dominoyent;" C. 36: "Les gentis hommes qui tienent chasteaux et jurisdictions sont fort ennemis;" references to *Il Principe* are given in connection with the same point in the *Veue of the Present State of Ireland*, below.

[6] Published by Grosart, I, 551 ff.

book of the *Faery Queene*, is repeated, with the veil of allegory removed, in the *Veue*.[1] Lord Gray died in 1593; Book V of the *Faery Queene* was completed by 1594, and "entered," with Books IV and VI, in January, 1596. Perhaps the poet's desire to win the favor of Essex, shown also in the *Prothalamium* (November, 1596), accounts in part for his growing interest in matters of state policy. The problem presented by Ireland was one of the most vexing of those with which the queen and her advisers had to deal. With it the poet had some knowledge at first hand; he also saw how entirely the principles laid down by Machiavelli for the governing of a turbulent foreign colony would fit the present case; he resolved to point this out, trusting to the well-known popularity of Machiavelli's writings at court as an element in his favor, and incidentally seizing the opportunity of once more defending Lord Gray, this time on the unimpeachable authority of the Italian thinker. No doubt, too, the parallel between his own disappointed ambitions and those of Machiavelli suggested itself to him, and like Machiavelli, he hoped by writing such a book to win the favor of his superiors.

In its general scheme, the *Veue* follows *Il Principe* very closely. Spenser finds his text in Machiavelli's third chapter: "Ma quando si acquistano stati in una provincia disforme di lingua,

[1] Machiavelli's well-known distrust of the people is paralleled in Arthegall's rebuke of the giant who represents the theory of political and social equality in *F.Q.*, V, ii. Later, Arthegall (Lord Gray) fights in behalf of Irena (Ireland) and vanquishes her enemies. After restoring peace

> "All such persons, as did late maintayne
> That Tyrant's part with close or open ayde,
> He sorely punished with heavie payne;
> That in short space, whiles there he with her stayd
> Not one was left that durst her once have disobayd.
>
> During which time that he did there remayne,
> His studie was true Justice how to deale,
> And day and night employ'd his busie payne
> How to reform that ragged commonweale;
> And that same yron man, which could reveale
> All hidden crimes, through all that realme he sent
> To search out those that usd to rob and steale,
> Or did rebell gainst lawfull government;
> On whom he did inflict most grievous punishment."
>
> —V, xii, 25, 26.

But "ere he coulde reforme it thoroughly," he was recalled, for "envies cloud still dimmeth vertues ray;" the charge against him being

> "that he had, with unmanly guile
> And foule abusion, both his honour blent,
> And that bright sword, the sword of Justice lent,
> Had stayned with reprochfull crueltie
> In guiltless blood of many an innocent."
>
> —V, xii, 40.

All this is repeated, with additions, in the *Veue*.

di costumi e d'ordini, qui sono le difficultà, e qui bisogna avere gran fortuna e grande industria a tenerli." The entire tract is a development of this idea, except that Spenser includes the differences in language in his discussion of the customs of the Irish, and stresses the variation in religion. It should also be noted that whereas Machiavelli contents himself with postulating a difference in language, customs, and laws, Spenser devotes rather more than the first half of his essay to an exposition of these differences. In this there is considerable "ripping up of auncient historyes," and Eudoxus is quite right in thinking that it "savoureth of good conceits, and some reading withall." Particularly interesting are the descriptions of costumes, a subject in which Spenser proves himself expert; the singularly neglected brief treatise on the function of poetry, which suggests Spenser's former interest in the subject; the defense of Lord Gray, to which he also returns in the last part of the essay; and the discussion of religion, which throws considerable light on Spenser's own religious opinions. There is not a little humor, considerable learning, and a deal of keen observation in this part of the essay.

But it is the second division which shows most directly the debt to Machiavelli. The first fourteen chapters of *Il Principe* are drawn upon, and the most important arguments in each work exactly correspond, though of course Spenser does not follow the same sequence of topics, and his method is further modified by being applied to a particular case. The indebtedness of Spenser can best be pointed out by constructing a brief of his argument, with cross references to passages on the same subjects in Machiavelli.[1]

"VEUE"	"IL PRINCIPE"
I. We are dealing with a people differing from ours in Laws, Customs, and Religion.	The difficulties arise in dealing with a new state, differing in language, customs, and laws.[2]
II. Strong medicine is necessary. "Even by the swoorde; for all those	Under such circumstances there are three courses: to ruin them; to reside

[1] The Globe text of the *Veue* is used, "*a*" and "*b*" indicating the columns on the page. Of *Il Principe* the edition by Zambelli, Florence, 1888, is used, but the references are by chapters, which are short, rather than by pages.

[2] Ma nel principato nuovo consistono le difficultà . . . . quando si acquistano stati in una provincia disforme di lingua, di costumi, e d'ordini, qui sono le difficultà (cap. iii).

"VEUE"	"IL PRINCIPE"
evills must first be cut away with a strong hand, before any good can be planted" (650 *a*). "Doe you yourself nowe prescribe the same *medicine?* Is not the swoord the most *violent* redress?" "There must needes this *violent meanes* be used" (650 *a*). Cf. also "*violent meanes*" (613 *a*); "Too *violent a Medicine*" (623 *a*).	there in person; or to hold as a dependency, taking tribute.[1] Cf. *medicine forti* (cap. iii) etc. There is no safe way to retain them except to ruin them.[2]
Unless ruined they "looke after libertye, and shake off all government . . . . it is in vayne to speake of planting of lawes, and plotting of policyes, till they are altogether subdued" (614 *a*).	Unless ruined, the city will destroy the conqueror, for the watchword of liberty and ancient privileges is a rallying point in rebellion; the safest way is to destroy utterly or reside there.[3]
(*a*) Therefore, "the first thing must be to send over . . . . a strong power of men" (650 *b*). This is in order that the one strong blow may be given which will put an end to vacillation. The present method is not less expensive and is utterly ineffective. See 651 *a* and also the defense of Lord Gray, noted below.	Machiavelli constantly stresses promptness, severity, and the ability to give a crushing blow.
(*b*) The imputation of cruelty is not to be feared. Lord Gray suffered from the charge "that he was a bloudye man, and regarded not the life of her subjects noe more than dogges, but had wasted and consumed all, soe as nowe she had nothing almost left, but to raigne in her ashes. . . . ." When he was removed "not onely all that	Cruelty is justifiable if applied at one blow and necessary to one's security; unjustifiable when, notwithstanding slight beginning, it must be persisted in. A prince who follows this second course cannot maintain himself.[4] So Cesare Borgia in Romagna found the country full of robbers; exter-

[1] Il primo è rovinarli; l'altro andarvi ad abitare personalmente; il terzo lasciargli vivere con le sue leggi, tirandone una pensione, e creandovi dentro uno stato di pochi, che te lo conservino amico (cap. v).

[2] Perchè in verità non ci è modo sicuro a possederle, altro che la rovina (cap. v).

[3] E chi diviene padrone di una citta consueta a vivere libera, e non la disfaccia, aspetti di essere disfatto da quella; perchè sempre ha per rifugio nella rebellione il nome della libertà, e gli ordini antichi suoi . . . . talchè la più sicura via è spegnerle, o abitarvi (cap. v).

[4] Credo che questo avvenga dalle crudeltà male o bene usate. Bene usate si possono chiamar quelle . . . . che si fanno una sol volta per necessità dell' assicurarsi. . . . . Le male usate son quelle, quali, ancora che da principio sian poche, crescono piuttosto col tempo che le si spenghino. Coloro che osserveranno quel primo modo, possono con Dio e con gli uomini avere allo stato loro qualche rimedio. . . . . Quelli altri, è impossibile che si mantenghino (cap. viii).

"VEUE"	"IL PRINCIPE"
greate and long charge, which she had before beneat, quite lost and cancelled, but also that hope of good which was even at the doore putt backe, and cleane frustrated . . . . all that was formerly done with long labor and great toile was . . . . in a moment undone . . . . the necessitye of that present state of things enforced him to that violence . . . . his course indeede was this, that he spared not the heades and principalls of any mischievous practize or rebellion, but shewed sharpe judgement on them, chiefly for examples sake, that all the meaner sorte, which also then were generallye infected with that evill, might by terrour therof be reclaymed, and saved yf it might be possible" (655, *a*, *b*).	minated the leaders and used the cruel and swift D'Orco as his governor.[1] Cesare was considered cruel, but his cruelty reconciled Romagna, unified it, and restored it to peace and loyalty.[2] A Prince should not mind the reproach of cruelty, for with a few examples he will be more merciful than those who through too much mercy allow grave disorders to arise.[3] It is impossible for a new prince to avoid the name of being cruel, owing to new states being full of dangers.[4]
(*c*) The rebels should be dispersed and deprived of their arms. They should not be allowed "to remaine anie longer in those partes, noe nor about the garrizons, but sent awaie into the inner partes of the realme, and dispersed in such sort as they shall not come togither, nor easelie returne if they would" (654 *a*). The country should be left desolate (660 *b*).	They never forget their name or privileges unless they are disunited or dispersed.[5]
"I would have them first unarmed utterlye and stript quite of all theyr warrlick weapons . . . . and have land given unto them to occupye and to live upon" (663 *a*). "That in noe place	This is implied in all that Machiavelli says concerning the necessity of ruining the province in order to bring it completely under subjection. See especially cap. xx, on the necessity of

[1] The seventh chapter is mainly devoted to the account of Borgia's work in Romagna; the passage is too long to quote.

[2] Cap. xvii, *ad init.* Machiavelli also says that he was in reality more merciful than the Florentine people, who, to avoid the name of being cruel, permitted Pistoia to be destroyed.

[3] Deve, pertanto, un Principe non si curar dell' infamia di crudele, per tenere i sudditi suoi uniti ed in fede: perchè con pochissimi esempi sarà più pietoso che quelli li quali, per troppa pietà, lasciano seguire i disordini, onde naschino occisioni o rapine (cap. xvii).

[4] E intra tutti i Principi, al Principe nuovo è impossibile fuggire il nome di crudele, per essere gli stati nuovi pieni di pericoli (cap. xvii).

[5] E per cosa si faccia o si provvegga, se non si disuniscono o dissipano gli abitatori, non si dimentica quel nome ne quelli ordini, ma subito in ogni accidente vi si ricorre (cap. v).

"VEUE"	"IL PRINCIPE"
under any land-lorde there shall remayne manye of them planted togither, but dispersed wide from theyre acquayntaunce, and scattered farre abrode through all the countreye" (663 *b*). Cf. also 676 *a*.	disarming a new state which is added as a province to the old one.[1]
(*d*) Particular care must be taken to discipline the chiefs or nobles thoroughly.	Cf. Machiavelli's defence of the methods of Cesare Borgia, cap. vii.
It is a mistake to temporize or parley with the Earl of Tyrone; the rebellion cannot be crushed unless he is first crushed (658-60). He is described as a prince in terms which suggest a Machiavellian hero in 660 *a*.	
In pp. 672–75 are further remarks on the mode of dealing with the nobles.	
"This base sorte people doth not for the most parte rebell of himself, having noe harte therunto, but is of force drawen by the graunde rebells into theyr actions, and carryed away with the violence of the streame" (653 *b*).	On this cf. cap. ix.
Lord Gray was wrongly accused of cruelty in destroying the chiefs, because he did it to strike terror into the common people (655 *b*).	Cesare Borgia is defended for exterminating the nobles in Romagna (cap. vii).
III. After the Irish have been utterly subdued by this swift and severe treatment:	
(*a*) English soldiers should be established there as colonists.	
This is developed in detail in pp. 662 *b*–663, in a passage too long to quote. The argument is based on the precedent of the colonizing of Britain by the Romans.	In cap. iii Machiavelli dwells on the importance of establishing colonies as a means of holding a dependency. The Roman method in this respect is several times referred to. Near the end of the chapter, one of the capital errors of Louis XII is said to be his failure to send colonies into Italy.
(*b*) The English Governor of the province should live there and have absolute power.	
This principle is stated in p. 666 *b*. Cf. also p. 682 *b*: "This should be one principle in the appoyntment of the	Cesare Borgia made d'Orco his governor in Romagna and gave him absolute power.[2]

[1] Ma quando un Principe acquista uno stato nuovo che come membro s'aggiunga al suo vecchio, allora è necessario disarmare quello stato . . . . ed ordinarsi in modo, che tutte l'armi del tuo stato sieno in quelli soldati tuoi propri, che nello stato tuo antico vivono appresso di te.

[2] Cap. vii.

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Lord Deputyes authority, that it should be more ample and absolute then it is, and that he should have uncontrolled power" (682 *b*).	
This in order that troubles may be dealt with before they become serious, thus gaining "timely prevention." Here occurs a direct reference to "Machiavell in his discourses upon Livye" where he commends the Roman practice of giving to their governors absolute power (683 *a*).	
(*c*) The laws should not be too radically changed. "I doe not thinke it convenient, though nowe it be in the power of the Prince, to change all the lawes and make newe, for that should breede a greate trouble and confusion. . . . . Therefore since we cannot nowe apply lawes fitt for the people, as in the first institution of commonwealthes it ought to be, we will applye the people, and fitt them to the lawes, as it most conveniently may be" (670 *b*–671 *a*).	Of the three courses allowed by Machiavelli in dealing with a new state (to ruin them; to reside there in person; or to permit them to live under their own laws, establishing an oligarchy by means of colonizing) it will be observed that Spenser stresses the first and third.[1]
(*d*) Farming and religion are to be fostered (677 *b*, 680).	The necessity of keeping the people satisfied and contented is emphasized.[2] Agriculture to be fostered for this reason.[3]
(*e*) Towns are to be multiplied. "They will both strengthen all the countreye rounde about them . . . . and will also be as continuall holdes for her Majestie, yf the people should revolte and breake out agayne, for without such it is easye to forraie and over-runne the whole land" (682 *a*).	Princes should fortify their towns, and not on any account defend the open country. By this means they will avoid attack.[4]

Some additional reasons may now be given for postulating indebtedness of the *Veue* to Machiavelli:

1. Verbal parallels. (*a*) Machiavelli's phrase *medicine forti* supplies the key to Spenser's plan for reform, and often appears in the *Veue*.[5] Several instances have already been cited under II

[1] Cap. v, quoted above p. 196. [2] Cap. xix. [3] Cap. xxi. [4] Cap. x, *ad. init.*

[5] Professor Fletcher (*Encyclopedia Americana*, *s. v.* "Spenser") has referred to Spenser's use of this phrase from Machiavelli.

(*a*), above; one also notes "too violent a medecine" (623 *a*), and in Spenser's letter "To the Queene" (1598)[1] is the statement that "nothing but a moste violent medecyne will serve to recouver it." The phrase is too frequently used by Spenser to be mere chance. (*b*) The idea, based on the same phrase, that the work of reform in Ireland is the work of the physician, seeking by heroic measures to save the life of a patient desperately ill, corresponds to Machiavelli's frequent use of the simile of the physician.[2] (*c*) The reference to "the Prince" (670 *b*) is significant: "I doe not thinke it convenient, though nowe it be in the power of the Prince, to change all the lawes and make newe, for that should breed a greate trouble and confusion." Spenser does not elsewhere in the *Veue* refer to the Queen in this manner.

2. Similarities in structure and style. One illustration of this has already been pointed out: the fact that in general outline the *Veue* closely follows Machiavelli's idea of proposing a course of action suitable for dealing with a principality differing in institutions and customs from the country of the Prince. It is hardly less striking that Spenser's method of supporting his arguments by illustrations drawn from history is directly imitated from Machiavelli. Nothing is more characteristic of *Il Principe* than this: an observation or general statement is followed by copious historical illustration. Spenser uses precisely the same method, at times even using the same illustrations.

3. There is a direct reference to Machiavelli, with an illustration drawn from the *Discorsi.*

"VEUE" (682 *b*–683 *a*)	DISCORSI (Lib. II, cap. xxxiii)
Therfore this should be one principle in the appoyntment of the Lord Deputyes authoritye, that it should be more ample and absolute then it is, and that he should have uncontrolled power to doe anything . . . . for it is not possible for the Counsell heere, to direct a Governour there, whoe shal be forced oftentimes to followe the necessitye of present occa-	The authority given to these Consuls and Dictators was of the most unlimited character. Fabius did not even notify the Senate in a crisis; thus there was no delay, and they did not meddle in affairs which they did not understand.

[1] Grosart, I, 538 ff.

[2] *Veue* 609 *b*, 610 *a*, 656 *b*; *Il Principe*, cap. iii; *Discorsi*, lib. III, cap. i., etc.

"VEUE"

sions, and to take the suddayne advantage of time, which being once loste will not be recovered; whilst, through expecting directions from hence, ... greate danger often groweth, which by such timely prevention might easily be stopped. And this (I remember) is wooi thelye observed by Machiavill in his discourses upon Livye, when he commendeth the manner of the Romayne government, in giving absolute power to all theyre Consuls and Governours. . . . .

And the contrarye therof he reprehendeth in the States of Venice, of Florence, and many other principalities of Italye."

"IL PRINCIPE"

The Republics of the present day, such as the Venetians and the Florentines, act very differently . . . . which has brought them to the condition in which they now find themselves.

There are a few other indications that Spenser knew the *Discorsi*, such as the fact that in III, i, Machiavelli emphasizes the need of fostering religion, a point not brought out in *Il Principe* for the obvious reason that there he was planning a course of action to be applied to Italian cities, in which there were no variations in religion; Spenser stresses the point in the *Veue*. Also, Machiavelli's favorite simile of the physician dealing with a disease requiring heroic treatment, so often used by Spenser, occurs again in *Discorsi*, III, i. Again, Spenser often says that the semblance of old forms must be preserved in Ireland; this is also observed by Machiavelli in I, xxv. And finally, Spenser's statement (674*b*) that it is a great grace in a prince to deal liberally in occasions where there is no constraint, is an echo not only of the praise of liberality in *Il Principe* (cap. xvi), but also of the *Discorsi* (I, 51), where prudent men are said to make it appear as if their course were dictated by their own liberality.

In general, however, the debt of the *Veue* to the *Discorsi* is extremely small; it is therefore the more significant that Spenser's only direct reference to Machiavelli is to this work. If he drew directly from a book which in the nature of things had little to contribute to the problem which he had in mind, it is the more

certain that he must have known the one book of his time which in subject and in method bore most directly upon such a problem.

4. Finally, Spenser acknowledges (683 *b*) that his plan is not original with him. "I doe not deliver (it) for a perfect plott of myne owne invention, ... but as I have learned and understood the same by the consultations and actions of verye wise Governours and Counsellors." Among these very wise governors and counsellors Machiavelli assuredly stood.

Thus the *Veue of the Present State of Ireland*, despised and rejected by most lovers of Spenser, is seen to possess a certain distinction in Elizabethan literature, the distinction of rightly interpreting Machiavellism. To Spenser's contemporaries, the word was anathema. In Spenser's own earlier poem, the conventional view was given, the foxcraft of pseudo-Machiavellism being combined with mediaeval Renardie. In the *Veue*, however, we have not a mere servile defense of Lord Gray's atrocities, nor an inhuman hatred of the Irish people, but an earnest plea for the course which Spenser believed would soonest bring relief to that wretched and suffering province. The theories of Machiavelli are here applied as the great Italian intended, not as a code for an adventurer who seeks by unholy means to advance his own fortunes, but as a means for bringing a new province into a condition where permanent reform should be possible.

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